

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11346 01 OF 03 221515Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NASA-01 NEA-11 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01
DOE-15 CEQ-01 OES-07 SS-15 ICA-11 NRC-05 ACDE-00
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-----078403 221543Z /75

P 221500Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1990
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMCONSUL MUNICH
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 11346

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, UR
SUBJECT: SOVIETS PLAN FOR SSOD

REF: (A) MOSCOW 8895 (NOTAL), (B) MOSCOW 9417 (NOTAL),
(C) MOSCOW 9430 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: SOVIET POSITION AT UNGA SSOD WILL BE
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 11346 01 OF 03 221515Z

DETERMINED BY TWO FACTORS: A DESIRE TO PRESERVE THE
CURRENT MACHINERY OF DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS LARGELY
IF NOT WHOLLY INTACT AND TO PRESERVE THE INTEGRITY OF
THOSE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION
HAS A MAJOR INTEREST COMBINED WITH AN EVIDENT NEED
TO POSTURE BEFORE THE WORLD AS THE MAJOR CHAMPION OF
DISARMAMENT. THE SOVIET PROGRAM FOR THE SSOD WAS

PROBABLY DEVELOPED IN OUTLINE BY BREZHNEV IN HIS KOMSOMOL SPEECH OF APRIL 25 AND MOSCOW WILL PROBABLY PLACE BEFORE THE SESSION A "COMPREHENSIVE" PROGRAM FOR (IN BREZHNEV'S WORDS) "THE CESSATION OF FURTHER QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE GROWTH OF ARMAMENTS AND THE ARMED FORCES OF THOSE STATES POSSESSING GREAT MILITARY POTENTIAL." END SUMMARY.

1. THE FULLEST ELABORATION OF WHAT WILL PROBABLY BE THE BASIS OF THE PROGRAMMATIC PROPOSALS BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE SSOD IS CONTAINED IN A LENGTHY UNSIGNED ARTICLE IN MAY 18 PRAVDA IN THE SERIES ENTITLED "DISARMAMENT - THE BEHEST OF THE TIME." THE ARTICLE IS ALMOST ENTIRELY DEVOTED TO A DESCRIPTION OF VARIOUS SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS AND IN ONE PARAGRAPH COMMENTS ON THE NEED TO PRESERVE CURRENT DISARMAMENT MECHANISMS, PARTICULARLY THE CCD.

2. THE ARTICLE CLAIMS THAT THE SPECIAL SESSION, WHICH IS IDENTIFIED AS THE PREPARATORY MEETING FOR A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, CAN FORMULATE BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR DISARMAMENT, BUT THEN QUICKLY ADDS THAT THE PROGRAM OFFERED BY THE SSOD MUST HAVE A "REALISTIC, CONCRETE CHARACTER AND BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL STATES." THE DIFFICULTY OF ACHIEVING CONSENSUS AMONG 149 UN MEMBERS IS ACKNOWLEDGED, ALL THE MORE SO BECAUSE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11346 01 OF 03 221515Z

THE OPPOSITION OF THE "MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES OF THE IMPERIALIST STATES" AND ALSO OF PEKING. FURTHER DIFFICULTIES ARE CREATED, THE ARTICLE NOTES, BY THOSE (UNNAMED) WHO HAVE RAISED IRRESPONSIBLE PROPOSALS WHICH FAIL TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE NEEDS OF NATIONAL SECURITY OF SOME STATES.

3. IN TERMS OF SUBSTANCE, THE ARTICLE FIRST CITES BREZHNEV IN HIS KOMSDMOL SPEECH (REF A) ON THE NEED TO END FURTHER QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE GROWTH OF THE ARMAMENTS AND THE ARMED FORCES OF COUNTRIES HAVING MAJOR MILITARY POTENTIAL. THE ARTICLE THEN CITES AS MATTERS OF CURRENT PRIMARY IMPORTANCE THE FOLLOWING:

-- CESSATION OF PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS;

-- CESSATION OF PRODUCTION AND THE BANNING OF ALL OTHER TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION;

-- CESSATION OF CREATION OF NEW TYPES OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS OF GREAT DESTRUCTIVE FORCE; AND

-- NO EXPANSION OF THE ARMIES OR OF THE CONVENTIONAL
ARMAMENTS OF PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY
COUNCIL AND OF THOSE STATES ALLIED TO THEM.

4. THE ARTICLE THEN CITES SPECIFIC ISSUES TO BE TAKEN
UP BY THE SPECIAL SESSION, MENTIONING STRENGTHENING
NON-PROLIFERATION, FORBIDDING THE CREATION OF NEW TYPES
AND SYSTEMS OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION ("ESPECIAL
IMPORTANCE" MUST BE GIVEN TO THE PROHIBITION OF NEUTRON
WEAPONS), PROHIBITION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, REDUCTION
OF ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS, AND CREA-
TION OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES AND OF ZONES OF PEACE.

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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 11346 01 OF 03 221515Z

5. ON THE QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT MACHINERY, THE
ARTICLE IS MUCH MORE CIRCUMSPECT, STATING THAT "AS A
WHOLE," THE CURRENT SYSTEM IS ADEQUATE. REJECTING
"RADICAL REORGANIZATION", THE ARTICLE STATES THAT THE

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11346 02 OF 03 221523Z
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CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
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/165 W

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P 221500Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1991
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 MOSCOW 11346

QUESTION OF CHANGES MUST BE DEALT WITH "CIRCUMSPECTLY,"
AND STATES THAT FORUMS WHICH HAVE PROVEN THEMSELVES,
SUCH AS THE CCD, SHOULD NOT BE JEOPARDIZED. IN ALL,
THIS SUBJECT IS TREATED IN ONE PARAGRAPH OF A VERY
LONG ARTICLE AND THE ARTICLE'S TERSENESS ON THIS
MATTER SERVES TO REINFORCE THE MESSAGE THAT THE SOVIETS
HOPE TO DEFLECT PROPOSALS FOR TAMPERING WITH EXISTING
NEGOTIATING FORUMS AND TO TRY TO PROTECT THEIR INTEGRITY
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 11346 02 OF 03 221523Z

AND CURRENT ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE (REF B).

6. THE SOVIETS ARE CLEARLY CONCERNED THAT THE SSOD
MIGHT NOT OPERATE BY CONSENSUS AND THEY WILL WORK HARD
FROM THE OUTSET TO ASSURE THAT THE CONSENSUS RULE IS
ACCEPTED. WITHOUT THIS RULE IN FORCE, THE SOVIETS
RECOGNIZE THAT THEY CAN BE UNDERCUT BY VARIOUS FORCES,
INCLUDING THE CHINESE. FURTHERMORE, WITH CONSENSUS
IN OPERATION, THE SOVIETS WILL NOT HAVE TO FEAR THAT A
MAJOR REORGANIZATION OF THE CCD WILL CARRY IN THE
SPECIAL SESSION.

7. WHILE THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SOVIET PROGRAM HAS
ALMOST CERTAINLY BEEN PLACED ON THE PUBLIC RECORD BY
BREZHNEV, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT GROMYKO WILL COME UP
WITH A BROAD, ILL-DEFINED "SPECTACULAR" DESIGNED PURELY
FOR PROPAGANDA OBJECTIVES AND SUPERFICIALLY AT LEAST
EMBARRASSING TO THE WEST. WE CANNOT REASONABLY SPECU-
LATE ON THE NATURE OF SUCH A PROPOSAL BUT IT WOULD BE
PRUDENT FOR THE WEST TO BE ON ITS GUARD. THE NEUTRON
WEAPON WILL CERTAINLY PLAY A MAJOR ELEMENT IN THE
SOVIET PROPAGANDA PLAY DURING THE SESSION NND MAY
POSSIBLY PROVIDE THE BASIS OR AN ELEMENT OF A GRANDIOSE
NEW PROPOSAL. THE SOVIETS ARE DISSATISFIED WITH
PRESIDENT CARTER'S REACTION TO BREZHNEV'S PROMISE NOT
TO PRODUCE THE NEUTRON WEAPON AS LONG AS THE U.S. DOES
NOT PRODUCE IT, AND THEY MAY ATTEMPT TO REGAIN THE
PROPAGANDA INITIATIVE ON THIS ISSUE WITH WHAT THEY
WOULD CALL A MAJOR NEW PROPOSAL.

8. ANOTHER ELEMENT IN THE SOVIET PROGRAM WILL BE PROPOSALS FOR REGIONAL SECURITY. A TASS ARTICLE CARRIED IN IZVESTIYA ON MAY 17 SUGGESTS AT LEAST PART OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11346 02 OF 03 221523Z

SOVIET APPROACH ON THIS SKXJECT. THE ARTICRN DISCUSSED EUROPE, THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND THE INDIAN OCEAN. ON EUROPE THE ARTICLE NOTED THE VIENNA TALKS AND THEN CITED SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND FOR NON-EXPANSION OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. ON THE MEDITERRANEAN, THE ARTICLE RESURFACES THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR THE REMOVAL FROM THAT AREA OF ALL SHIPS CARRYING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, THE ARTICLE ASSERTS SOVIET INTEREST IN TURNING THAT AREA INTO A ZONE OF PEACE, BUT DEFINES THIS NOTION IN TERMS OF BANNING ALL FOREIGN MILITARY BASES THERE. THE ARTICLE FURTHER STATES THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS REDUCING ON A MUTUAL BASIS THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF THE NON-LITTORAL STATES. THIS REFERENCE SUGGESTS THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT, AS PART OF A BROADER ATTACK ON ALLEGED U.S. FOOTDRAGGING IN DISARMAMENT, SEEK TO PRESSURE THE U.S. ON THE INDIAN OCEAN TALKS.

9. IN CONCLUSION, IT APPEARS TO US THAT THE OUTLINE OF THE SOVIET PROGRAM FOR THE SSOD WAS LAID OUT BY BREZHNEV LATE IN APRIL, ALTHOUGH IT IS POSSIBLE THAT PROPAGANDA NEEDS WILL DICTATE THE INTRODUCTION OF SOME SORT OF DISARMAMENT PACKAGE NOT PREVIOUSLY SURFACED. MOSCOW APPEARS TO BE CONCERNED BOTH BY THE NEED TO BOLSTER ITS SELF-CREATED IMAGE AS THE STATE MOST IN FAVOR OF DISARMAMENT AND BY A DESIRE TO PRESERVE INTACT CURRENT NEGOTIATING FORUMS AND ARRANGEMENTS WHICH IT FEELS SERVE ITS INTERESTS. THE TACTICS OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE SSOD WILL PROBABLY BE DETERMINED BY THIS DUAL CONCERN AND THE SOVIET HOPE IS THAT PROPOSALS TO ALTER EXISTING DISARMAMENT MACHINERY CAN BE DEFLECTED BY

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11346 03 OF 03 221524Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 MOSCOW 11346

COMPREHENSIVE PACKAGE PROPOSALS SUCH AS THOSE OUTLINED
ABOVE. MATLOCK

RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO 5786

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
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Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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Disposition History: n/a
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SAS ID: 2616715
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIETS PLAN FOR SSOD
TAGS: PARM, PORG, UR, UNGA
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9bb88a99-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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